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# Banner moments: the national anthem in American life

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# Banner Moments: The National Anthem in American Life

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12 September – 18 December 2014  
Audubon Room  
University of Michigan Library  
Ann Arbor, Michigan

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Curators Mark Clague and Jamie Vander Broek acknowledge the assistance of the following in shaping and mounting this exhibit: staff members of the William L. Clements Library, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan Museum of Art, and the U-M Library, including Brooke Adams, Pablo Alvarez, Tim Archer, Marcy Bailey, Cathleen A. Baker, Kristen Castellana, Martha Conway, Roberta Frey Gilboe, Melissa Gomis, Tom Hogarth, Dave Hytinen, Gregory Kinney, Sarah Kennedy, Clayton Lewis, Karl Longstreth, Mary Morris, Kirsten Neelands, Lynne Raughley, Grace Rother, Theresa Stanko, Diana Sykes, and Tim Utter.

## Banner Moments: The National Anthem in American Life

Unlike the Declaration of Independence, the U.S. Constitution, or even the American Flag, Francis Scott Key's song "The Star-Spangled Banner" lacks a singular icon that defines it. Rather the song must be brought to life through performance. Individuals sing the anthem into a fleeting materiality, simultaneously constructing themselves as a community while inscribing the song ever more deeply into cultural memory.

The artifacts in this exhibit capture material iterations of the song and thus record the crystallization of an American national consciousness. In turn they trace the development of nation through war and protest, commerce, and celebration. You will learn that 36 congressional resolutions were required to name Key's song the U.S. anthem, that "Hail Columbia" was once considered the nation's anthem, and even that Key's song was not the first to use its melody to express American patriotic fervor.

Artifacts featured in the "Banner Moments" exhibit in the Audubon Room are drawn from the vast collections of the University of Michigan and include works in the University Library's Special Collections, notably the Joseph A. Labadie Collection, as well as the Stephen S. Clark Library, the William L. Clements Library, the U-M Museum of Art, and the Bentley Historical Library. Musicology and American Culture faculty member Mark Clague, Ph.D. also lent items from his personal research collection.

### Francis Scott Key, "The Star-Spangled Banner," and "The Anacreontic Song"

Many are surprised to learn that "The Star-Spangled Banner" does not use an original American tune. Francis Scott Key's 1814 lyric was written to the melody of "The Anacreontic Song" and, in fact, is not even the first American patriotic hymn to make use of the tune.

- 15-Star American Flag: “The Star-Spangled Banner”

(1 May 1795–3 July 1818)

Reproduction, 2012

Clague Collection

A 30 by 42-foot version of this flag flew over Fort McHenry following the Battle of Baltimore. A smaller storm flag (now lost) flew over the fort during the battle because of a rainstorm. This 15-star, 15-stripe flag used during the war was the only U.S. flag to have more than 13 stripes because the original design specifications approved on 14 June 1777 called for an additional star and stripe for each new state. The 15-star design recognized the addition of Vermont (1791) and Kentucky (1792), but when Tennessee (1796), Ohio (1803), and Louisiana (1812) entered the union, the flag remained unchanged and thus was out-of-date during the War of 1812. The Battle of Baltimore and Key’s song helped to change this. The song also helped preserve Fort McHenry’s garrison flag for posterity. The actual cloth flag that flew over the fort has undergone a series of costly restorations and is now displayed prominently in the Smithsonian National Museum of American History in Washington D.C. Without the notoriety and fame it gained from Francis Scott Key’s memorial lyric, Fort McHenry’s flag might have been discarded not only physically but in the national imagination.

- “The Anacreontic Song as Sung at the Crown & Anchor Tavern in the Strand”

Lyric by Ralph Tomlinson

[Music by John Stafford Smith]

London: Longman & Broderip, [1779]

William L. Clements Library

The anthem of an amateur musicians club in London known as The Anacreontic Society (founded 1766), the melody of this song provided the musical vehicle for Key’s future anthem. Written in 1775/1776, the song grew in popularity, leading to the publication of this souvenir edition. Soon introduced to London’s theaters, the song achieved notoriety and became the object of parody and a resource melody for poets writing lyrics to popular tunes (known as broadside

ballads). It would also serve as the melodic vehicle for Francis Scott Key's first patriotic lyric "When the Warrior Returns" (1805) and his more famous song begun on the Patapsco River and titled "Defence of Fort M'Henry," now known as "The Star-Spangled Banner." The Anacreontic Society's meetings were elite affairs beginning with a two-hour symphony concert held in an elegant meeting room followed by dinner. The name of their fashionable restaurant "The Crown & Anchor Tavern" has given momentum to the song's reputation as a drinking song. The club anthem was sung after dinner (and was usually preceded by a prayer) to introduce a set of popular part songs. Professional singers, who also performed in London's theaters, sang along with select, trained amateurs while general members joined to echo as a chorus. As a challenging song written to showcase the artistic aspirations of the club, "The Anacreontic Song" was sung by a professional soloist and never intended for mass singing. That is why it is so hard to sing as a community anthem—it was written to allow a skilled soloist to show off.

- "Baltimore, Annapolis and Adjacent Country"

*A Geographical Description of the United States with the Contiguous Countries, including Mexico and the West Indies; Intended as an Accompaniment to Melish's Map of These Countries*

John Melish

Philadelphia: The Author, 1822

Stephen S. Clark Library

Known as America's Second War of Independence, the War of 1812 pitted the United States of America against its original colonial overseer. While the U.S. attempted to remain neutral during the Napoleonic Wars, trade cargo with both France and England was seized by opposing navies. Britain likewise impressed American sailors (many of whom were still considered by London to be English citizens) to staff its powerful and large navy. Such irritants precipitated a declaration of war signed by U.S. President James Madison on 18 June 1812, giving the war its name. Relatively weak U.S. forces invaded Canada and fought British forces to a stalemate of incompetence. When Napoleon was defeated in Europe, Britain could reassign

battle-proven ships and troops to the American war theater, quickly shifting momentum and resulting in the Burning of Washington on 24 August 1814. Francis Scott Key served in the Georgetown Militia's artillery company that had lost the Battle of Bladensburg leading to the destruction. Thus a month later at Baltimore, his joy was propelled by the contrast of an embarrassing defeat with a surprising victory. The war concluded with the Battle of New Orleans that forged (future President) Andrew Jackson's fame and ended with the ratification of the Treaty of Ghent that returned all territory to its pre-war state. While neither Britain nor the U.S. really won, the War of 1812 ignited a new patriotic fervor in America and advanced the cause for strengthening the federal government and the military.

• “The Star Spangled Banner: A Patriotic [*sic*] Song”

[Francis Scott Key]

Adapted and arranged by T.C. [Thomas Carr]

Baltimore: Printed and Sold at Carrs Music Store, [1814]

William L. Clements Library

Known to be commercially opportunistic, Carrs Music Store in Baltimore issued the first notated sheet-music imprint of Key's song, reportedly at the lyricist's direction. Rather than using the title “Defence of Fort M'Henry” (under which the song had appeared as lyrics alone), Carrs published the song with the new title “The Star Spangled Banner,” emphasizing the lyric's repeated refrain and its connection to the nation's flag as both inspiration and signal of hope, strength, and constancy. While derived from Key's lyric, this linkage of song and flag served to deepen its symbolic associations and created occasions for future performance at countless civic and military ceremonies. The arrangement is by Thomas Carr, a trained organist at St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Baltimore. Using the “scientific,” learned approach to composition espoused in the early 19th century, Carr was the first to introduce the raised fourth scale degree (here F#) into the song's melody. His distinctive coda was copied by music publishers through the U.S. Civil War. A recording and video of this original version is included on the *Poets & Patriots* CD.

• *Columbian Centinel*

Vol. 20, no. 25 (4 December 1793)

Printed and Published by Russell Benjamin, Boston

Clague Collection

The back page of this early American newspaper includes one of the earliest published U.S. parodies on the Anacreontic melody, a pro-British lyric commenting on the war with France. The song is now known as “To Genêt in New York,” and it comments on the activities of Edmond-Charles Genêt, the French ambassador to the U.S., to raise money and an invading force to support the French Revolution. Many Americans saw the French Revolution as parallel to America’s own, while economic interests dictated a policy of neutrality proclaimed by U.S. President George Washington. This lyric was sung to the British melody and is included on the *Poets & Patriots* CD.

## Early Circulation of “The Star-Spangled Banner”

First distributed among the troops who defended Fort McHenry as a handbill, Key’s lyric was carried far and wide relatively quickly, although by land rather than sea because the British blockaded the East Coast. It was printed in the *Baltimore Patriot and Evening Advertiser* when that paper resumed publication on 20 September 1814. Over the next month, the text was picked up by newspapers in cities ranging from Savannah, Georgia, in the south to Concord, New Hampshire, in the North, with Frederick-Town, Maryland, Washington and Georgetown, New York, Boston, and Richmond in between. Magazines and subsequent books of lyrics called songsters rode the wave of patriotic sentiment following Fort McHenry’s successful defense and the end of the War of 1812. Songsters were meant as patriotic keepsakes for repeated use, thus helping to preserve Key’s song, whereas the typical, more ephemeral broadside ballad faded to obscurity.



- *Niles' Weekly Register*

Vol. 12, no. 2 (24 September 1814)

William L. Clements Library

In addition to a full description of the bombardment of Fort McHenry, this Baltimore paper offers the only account of a boy, later identified as Samuel Sands, who remained in the newspaper's offices when all other staff members were involved in the city's defense. Sands claimed to be the one who typeset the first broadside of Key's "Defence of Fort M'Henry," which is how the anthem's lyric was first known.

- "Defence of Fort M'Henry"

Francis Scott Key

*The Columbian Harmonist, or Songster's Repository: Being a Selection of the Most Approved Sentimental, Patriotic, and Other Songs*

New York: Printed and Sold by Smith & Forman, 1814

William L. Clements Library

Published collections of lyrics distributed in book form, such as this one from New York, were known as songsters and played an important role in the preservation of Key's song, its wider distribution, and its continued use at home and at civic events. It is indicative of the patriotic sentiment ignited by the victories in September 1814 at Baltimore, as well as at the Battle of Plattsburgh and at Fort Erie, that Key's song was published in some six collections in the fall of 1814 alone. The next five years saw twenty-two additional songsters published as far west as Pittsburgh. *The Columbian Harmonist* includes Key's future anthem (p. 187) as well as "To Anacreon in Heaven" (p. 82) that provided the original source of the popular melody.

- *The Poems of the Late Francis S. Key, Esq.*

New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1857

William L. Clements Library

This posthumous collection of most of the verse and lyrics of Francis Scott Key was assembled by the Rev. Henry V.D. Johns, rector of

Emmanuel Episcopal Church of Baltimore and friend of the poet. It contains 57 writings, encompassing poems, lyrics, riddles, translations, and speeches. A letter from Key's brother-in-law, Chief Justice Roger B. Taney purports to tell the story of the genesis of Key's "The Star-Spangled Banner," including the myth that someone other than Key brought the text and tune together. The introduction by Johns remarks that in "these brief, but touching compositions, the deep-toned piety, social disposition, and chastened cheerfulness of our lamented friend, are constantly apparent." The publication speaks to the increasing reputation of Key's song.

- *The Madisonian*

30 January 1840

Washington, D.C.

Clague Collection

This paper features two parodies of "The Anacreon" melody (p. 2) and thus showcases the continued cultural currency of the melody as well as the broadside-ballad tradition. One parody is titled "Harrison and Liberty" and is a presidential campaign song for William Henry Harrison, who had some fourteen separate lyrics written to the future anthem's tune that supported his candidacy. This song is recorded on *Poets & Patriots* CD.

- *Niles' National Register*

5th series, Vol. 13, no. 20 (14 January 1843)

Baltimore

Clague Collection

On the last page of the *Register*, published in Baltimore, appears the obituary of Francis Scott Key, which confirms his contemporary fame as the lyricist of "The Star-Spangled Banner." It notes that the U.S. Supreme Court (presided over by Key's brother-in-law Roger B. Taney) marked the lawyer's passing.

- *The Star Spangled Banner: Being a Collection of the Best Naval, Martial, Patriotic Songs, &c. &c. &c. Chiefly Written during, and in Relation to the Late War*

[James Wilson]

Wilmington: Printed and Sold by J. Wilson, 1817

William L. Clements Library

This is the second edition of an 1816 patriotic songster published in Wilmington, Delaware, by James Wilson. That the book has taken the title of Key's song for its own suggests the growing popularity (and commercial appeal) of the future anthem. In addition to "The Star-Spangled Banner," this book contains two additional songs set to the same melody "The Anacreontic Song": Key's 1805 "The Warrior's Return" (p. 54; misattributed to John M'Creery) and "The Tars of Columbia" (p. 5). "The Star-Spangled Banner" contains "Additional stanzas" that relate to the Battle of New Orleans which was not written by Key.

- "The Star Spangled Banner"

Baltimore: John Cole, 1825

Facsimile issued by R.R. Donnelley & Sons' The Lakeside Press, 1976

William L. Clements Library

Like the Carrs of Baltimore, John Cole (1774–1855) immigrated to the U.S. from England and operated a bookstore and print shop. Cole was a member of the choir at St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Baltimore and became friends with organist Carr, who published the first sheet music of Key's future anthem in 1814 (displayed in the Francis Scott Key, "The Star-Spangled Banner" and "The Anacreontic Song" section of this exhibit). In 1822 Cole acquired some of Carrs Music Shop's stock and original engraved plates and began publishing music on his own. The edition displayed here is notable for the graphic of a canon being fired and the (rather fanciful) 12-star U.S. flag, suggesting that the nation stood alert and disciplined in its defense. This imprint reiterates Thomas Carr's "new edition" of 1821 with its simplified ending, and it may have been created in anticipation of the 1826 celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, which inspired patriotic events (and sales of souvenirs) across the nation.

- [“Defence of Fort M<sup>c</sup>Henry”]

Francis Scott Key

*The Analectic Magazine* new series, 4 (November 1814)

Philadelphia: Moses Thomas

William L. Clements Library

Published in Philadelphia, *The Analectic Magazine* was the first magazine to include “The Star-Spangled Banner.” Rather than having the local focus of American newspapers, this publication was distributed by mail throughout the nation, and it played an important role in the broader dissemination of Key’s lyric, as well as its survival and permanence.

## Sheet Music of the Civil War and World War I

The University of Michigan’s sheet-music collection contains many patriotic publications. The core of the collection is from Edison Records. The company maintained an enormous library of printed music to spur its recording efforts. This archive was acquired by collector Bly Corning and later purchased by the University. Corning also spearheaded fundraising efforts that allowed the William L. Clements Library, to acquire the 1814 first edition of “The Star-Spangled Banner.”

The 200-year print history of “The Star-Spangled Banner” sheet music tells the story of its popularity and meaning through illustrations and musical arrangements. Many of the publications displayed here are included in a recent U-M School of Music, Theatre & Dance recording project of its American Music Institute with Professors Mark Clague (musicology), Jerry Blackstone (conducting), James Kibbie (organ), and Scott Piper (voice). The recording titled *Poets & Patriots: A Tuneful History of “The Star-Spangled Banner”* contains 37 tracks that tell the history of the U.S. anthem. It is available for download on iTunes and other online music stores, while the CDs can be ordered online at [starspangledmusic.org](http://starspangledmusic.org) or purchased at Ann Arbor’s Encore Records.

- *National Beauties*

Arranged by Edward Mack

Philadelphia: Marsh, 1861

William L. Clements Library

- *Uncle Sam's School Songs*

Chicago: Hope Publishing Co., 1897

Clague Collection

The writing of “The Pledge of Allegiance” in 1892 led to in-school recitations that created increased use for patriotic music in American public schools. Patriotic school-music books such as this became increasingly common and were intended for classroom use.

- *The Star Spangled Banner*

Transcribed by Charles Voss

Philadelphia: G. André & Co., [1861?]

William L. Clements Library

- Unidentified boy with flags

Ypsilanti: Mrs. J.H. Parsons' Photograph Gallery, n.d.

William L. Clements Library

- *The Star Spangled Banner. National Song. (Song or Duet with Chorus ad libitum)*

Arranged by Augustus Cull

New York: Horace Waters, 1861

William L. Clements Library

- *55 Community Songs*

Liberty Edition 100 Songs

Boston: C.C. Birchard & Co., 1918

Clague Collection

The professional association of music teachers in the United States—the Music Supervisors National Conference—nurtured community singing at the beginning of the 20th century and attempted to create

standard versions of patriotic tunes (including Key's anthem), which were as much a part of oral tradition as written sheet music at this time. World War I led to an explosion of interest in patriotic songs, resulting in this revised "Liberty Edition" of the booklet in which songs with German heritage were eliminated and additional patriotic songs of the U.S. and its allies were featured.

• *National, Patriotic and Typical Airs of All Lands*

John Philip Sousa

Philadelphia: Harry Coleman and New York: Carl Fischer, 1890  
Clague Collection

Then director of the U.S. Marine Band John Philip Sousa compiled this collection of national songs, which served as a catalyst to his professional career. The book received broad press attention in which Sousa was quoted extensively, leading to a national tour of the Marine Band. Inspired by the success of this tour, in 1892 Sousa resigned his military position to form a professional touring band.

## The Flag of the United States of America

The design of the U.S. flag was made law on 14 June 1777, which is why we celebrate Flag Day every June 14th. Up through the War of 1812, the U.S. flag did not have the ubiquitous role as a symbol of nationality that it performs today. The Stars and Stripes served a more practical function to identify federal buildings or U.S. troops in battle, and was not typically displayed on civilian homes or businesses. The repetition of the phrase "star-spangled banner" in the lyric of Francis Scott Key's future anthem prompted the new name for Key's song (originally titled "Defence of Fort M'Henry") that permanently linked flag and song. As the military, economic, and cultural influence of the United States increased worldwide, particularly during WWI, both flag and song became the nationalist symbols we recognize today.

U.S. flags from various years can be identified by the number of stars, which since 1818 has included thirteen stripes representing the original rebellious colonies forming the initial United States of

America plus one star for each state. During most of the U.S. Civil War (1861–1865), the U.S. flag had 34 stars, which always included the secessionist states. The 48-star flag in this exhibit was adopted on 4 July 1912 and was used as the official design through WWI and WWII until the addition of Alaska in 1959 and Hawaii in 1960. Several 51-star designs of the canton have been made for the potential admittance of Puerto Rico as a state.

- “American Flag in Brick Wall”

Robert Frank

1956

University of Michigan Museum of Art

The publication of Robert Frank’s seminal series, *The Americans*, which chronicled his Guggenheim Foundation grant-funded cross-country trip from 1955 to 1956, ushered in a new era of informal, journalistic, and documentary photography. The 48-star American flag makes frequent appearances in Frank’s photographs, reinforcing the Americanness of his everyday subjects and settings.

- “The Star Spangled Banner”

New York: Currier & Ives, [1860s]

William L. Clements Library

This print is typical of relatively inexpensive hand-colored lithographs (and later chromolithographs) that were published by companies such as Currier & Ives in the latter half of the 19th century. For the first time, colorful popular images were being purchased by the burgeoning middle class to decorate their homes. Unfortunately, the red watercolor has faded completely.

- “One Nation under a Groove”

Priority Records, 1993

Clague Collection

This flag was sent to radio stations and retail outlets to promote the 1993 reissue of “One Nation under a Groove” by George Clinton and

the band Funkadelic. It combines the red, white, and blue colors as well as the stars of the American national flag with the green, yellow, and red of the Ethiopian national flag that are repeated in flags across the African continent. It was not sold commercially.

## The Anthem at Michigan

As a public university dedicated to the education of a democratic citizenry, the University of Michigan campus has served as a sounding board for national controversy and celebrations. These moments frequently included the nation's anthem and often resonated within the University's prominent sporting activities. In 1917, just after the U.S. entry into WWI, the University of Michigan football team under coach Fielding H. Yost defeated Cornell 42–0 in Ann Arbor on November 10th. During the intermission between the two halves, the French Commission was introduced to fans with the Michigan Band playing the French national anthem "La Marseillaise," followed by "The Star-Spangled Banner." "America's guests stood at attention" throughout and, as the *Chicago Tribune* reported, "It was an inspiring sight—one which commanded the respect of the 400 soldiers from Camp Custer who were guests of the athletic committee."

- Judge Advocate General's School drill with helmets in the Law Quadrangle (facsimile)

1940s

Bentley Historical Library

- Dedication of Michigan Stadium (facsimile)

1927

Bentley Historical Library

The dedication was likely accompanied by the playing of the national anthem by U-M and OSU bands. Left to right: U-M Athletic Director, Fielding Yost; U-M President, C.C. Little; Fred Green; and two unidentified men.



- Photograph of U-M football's Chris Perry (RB) (facsimile)

2001

Bentley Historical Library

The football team wore American flags on their uniforms following 9/11.

- Navy vs Michigan: Official Program (6 November 1948)

Ann Arbor: Board in Control of Intercollegiate Athletics

Bentley Historical Library

## Critical and Coercive Patriotism

Overt displays of patriotism in the years following the “9/11” tragedy has kindled feelings of both pride and resistance. Singing “The Star-Spangled Banner” can make those who do not feel represented by the song or included in the nation feel uncomfortable, false and empty, or even coerced. The prevalence of flag pins and “Proud to be an American” sing-alongs can be viewed as compulsory forms of patriotism.

Patriotic symbols can also be used as a form of protest, not simply to celebrate the nation's identity but as a practice of citizenship that gives voice to diverse viewpoints on the nation's ideals, faults, and happenings. This form of patriotism is known as critical patriotism.

Criticism as a form of patriotism is not new. In fact Francis Scott Key's lyric to “The Star-Spangled Banner” offers a vision of the nation from its author's perspective at odds with prevailing political and social circumstances, and Key was actually a pacifist opposed to the War of 1812.

Americans have long put new words to existing patriotic hymns, questioning and challenging instead of simply lauding and celebrating. Often the songs, imagery, and ephemera of critical patriotism connect radical objectives with the founding values of our country through its national symbols and music.

- *Farewell to the Star Spangled Banner*

Richmond: J.W. Davies & Sons, [1862]

William L. Clements Library

From 1861 until 1865, Richmond, Virginia, served as the capital of the Confederate States of America and was also home to many Confederate publishers, including music propagandists. Many southern citizens initially embraced U.S. symbols, including the American flag and “The Star-Spangled Banner,” arguing that these American symbols had to be protected from Yankee defilement. Additionally, as a Maryland slave owner, Francis Scott Key was considered by many to have been a Southerner, and in fact the majority of his descendants fought for the Confederate States. This song (included on the *Poets & Patriots* CD) offered a goodbye to the original American symbols as they continued to be used by the North and thus could not represent the rebellious South.

- Songs: International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union  
New York: I.L.G.W.U., Educational Depart., [1936?]  
Special Collections Library, Joseph A. Labadie Coll.

Labor unions used song for both its power to enact community and to educate. This songbook is one of many published by unions to teach members about the purpose and goals of the organization, as well as to provide activities for protest and to recruit new members. Writing new lyrics to well-known patriotic tunes, including “The Star-Spangled Banner,” was a common strategy. This pamphlet includes the lyric “Solidarity” sung to the melody of “The Battle Hymn of the Republic,” linking the fight for labor rights with the moral crusade of the U.S. Civil War.

- Pin-back button  
[pink triangle on American flag]  
Washington: Human Rights Campaign Fund, n.d.  
Special Collections Library, Joseph A. Labadie Coll.

This button rejects the notion that patriotic imagery is only for those on the political right. Appropriating the “Stars and Stripes” of America’s flag and substituting one of the stars for a pink triangle, it links sexual freedom with quintessential American values like freedom

and liberty. The pink-triangle symbol was reappropriated from Nazi-era uniforms, principally marking homosexuals. Because each star in the American flag recognizes the viable political entity of citizens, the substitution here celebrates and affirms the place of gays in American political and social life as equals.

• *Tea Time*

Dewey Blocksma

2007

University of Michigan Museum of Art

The rise of the Tea Party and its associated patriotic imagery during the first decade of the 21st century prompted a weary response from the left. This assemblage by the Wisconsin artist Dewey Blocksma can be interpreted as an absurd caricature of mainstream American culture depicting a tendency toward knee-jerk patriotism.

• “Grateful Dead in Ann Arbor — August 13, 1967” (facsimile)

Leni Sinclair

Clague Collection

Photographer Leni Sinclair was a founder of the Translove Energies Commune that served as a rock-music cooperative and included musicians from the early history of punk, such as the MC5, the Up, and Iggy and the Stooges. When the Grateful Dead visited Detroit in August 1967, they played a free concert in Ann Arbor’s West Park (bordered by N. Seventh and Huron/Miller streets). Heavy rains prior to the concert soaked the outdoor stage, creating a risk of electrocution for the musicians. Towels, along with a U.S. flag (on right), were thrown onto the stage to help insulate the performers from the wet concrete stage; the “desecration” caused an uproar. Sinclair responded to the controversy: “What better use for an American flag than to save Bob Weir’s life? If there was a soldier wounded and they had nothing but an American Flag to wrap him in, I’m sure they would not hesitate to use it. This is the same scenario.” (Interview with Mark Clague, 23 August 2014). Copies of this photograph can be purchased from [lenisinclair@hotmail.com](mailto:lenisinclair@hotmail.com).

• *Fourteen Months in American Bastiles*

Frank Key Howard

Baltimore: Kelly, Hedian & Piet, 1863

Clague Collection

Howard was the grandson of Francis Scott Key and the editor of the *Baltimore Exchange*, a pro-slavery newspaper. Howard was arrested for writing an editorial critical of Abraham Lincoln's suspension of habeas corpus. This book is his memoir of that imprisonment, which ironically began on 13 September 1861 in the brig of Fort McHenry, where 47 years to the day earlier his grandfather had witnessed the bombardment of that same fort, thus inspiring his words to "The Star-Spangled Banner."

## Becoming the National Anthem and Beyond

"The Star-Spangled Banner" became the official national anthem of the United States, authorized by President Herbert Hoover on 3 March 1931. Up through the U.S. Civil War, the song "Hail Columbia" (1798) served on most occasions as the nation's de facto anthem; yet due to the advocacy of the citizens of Baltimore, the notoriety and use of Key's song as a patriotic song and anthem increased over time. The cultural tension over slavery and the flag's use as a symbol of union, especially during the U.S. Civil War (1861–1865), further inscribed Key's best-known song as a musical icon. The drive by war hawks to convince a reluctant public to enter WWI led to the use of flag and song as pro-war propaganda, amplified further by audio recordings and mass-cultural imprints such as sheet music. Military regulations identified "The Star-Spangled Banner" as the official anthem of the U.S. army and navy in 1916.

• *A Protest against the Title of James Welden Johnson's Anomalous Poem as a "Negro National Anthem" as Subversive of Patriotism*

Ernest Lyon

[Baltimore: The Author, 1926?]

Special Collections Library, Joseph A. Labadie Collection

During the early-20th century, a song to celebrate Abraham Lincoln's birthday written by Harlem Renaissance leaders and brothers James Weldon Johnson and J. Rosamond Johnson "Lift Every Voice and Sing" (1900), was adopted by the N.A.A.C.P. and was increasingly referred to as the "negro national anthem." While James Weldon Johnson protested this label, preferring the designation "hymn," it was used as an anthem by many during the Civil Rights era. In this pamphlet, Lyon argues that the designation was inappropriate because all Americans should consider themselves to be part of a single country. Like other Civil Rights leaders, he felt that the adoption of a special national anthem by one group within the country would be divisive and counterproductive.

- *Pop-up Book about "The Star-Spangled Banner": America's National Anthem by Francis Scott Key*

Calvert Gamwell and Carrie Jordan

Bedford, Tx.: Carah Kids, 2002

Special Collections Library, Pop-Up and Movable Books

Children's literature and folklore about "The Star-Spangled Banner" typically focus on its creation myth while glossing over the more than 100 years before it officially became the national anthem.

- "Star Spangled Banner Is Voted National Anthem by Congress"

*New York Times*

4 March 1931

This front-page article announces the passage of a Congressional act to make Key's song the official anthem of the United States. It was signed into law by President Herbert Hoover on March 3rd.

- *The Star Spangled Banner*

Ingri and Edgar Parin d'Aulaire

Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1942

Special Collections Library, Children's Literature Collection

Prominent children's book authors and illustrators, the husband and wife team of Ingri and Edgar Parin d'Aulaire emigrated from Europe and be-

came U.S. citizens. Theirs is the most famous illustrated version of the anthem text and includes imagery supporting U.S. involvement in WWII.

- *Harper's Weekly*

Vol. 42, no. 2172 (6 August 1898)

"The Star-Spangled Banner. The Band of the Battle-Ship 'Oregon' on the Forward 13-Inch-Gun Turret Celebrating the Victory, Immediately after the Surrender of the 'Cristobal Colon,' July 3"

Clague Collection

The Spanish-American War marked an increase in U.S. nationalism and deepened the relationship among nation, anthem, and flag.

- "Drink MOXIE"

Boston: The Moxie Co., 1918

William L. Clements Library

Advertising fan featuring Lillian MacKenzie on one side and "The Star-Spangled Banner" on the other.

- Kitty Cheatham

*Words and Music of "The Star-Spangled Banner" Oppose the Spirit of Democracy which the Declaration of Independence Embodies*

n.p., 1918

U-M Library

Kitty Cheatham, whose other publications include *America Triumphant under God and His Christ* (New York and London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1920), was vocal among a group protesting "The Star-Spangled Banner" as a prospective national anthem because of the source tune's unsavory association with the Crown & Anchor Tavern in London and the pagan references in the original lyrics.

## Recordings of the Star-Spangled Banner

Invented in 1877, audio recording would not become commercially viable and culturally ubiquitous until the early decades of the 20th century. "The Star-Spangled Banner" was among the first songs to

be recorded commercially in the 1890s and reflected the growing American patriotism and nationalism. In part because the song's musical arrangement and stylistic conventions had already departed from the 1814 original, there was no official version, and there is considerable variety in the approach to the recordings. Tempo, the number of verses, details of rhythm and melodic contour, etc., are in flux. Thus each recording offers a window into the symbolic resonance of Key's song in the period it was created, as well as the political dispositions of its performer(s). Jose Feliciano's controversial rendition during the 1968 baseball World Series in Detroit (following on the heels of Detroit's race riots in 1967) is only the earliest example of a phenomenon now common to professional sports in which superstar pop artists are invited to offer personal takes on the song as part of nationwide broadcasts. These renditions can inspire vitriol or praise, yet they almost always are a publicity boon for commercialized sports. Whitney Houston's 1991 Super Bowl performance, which featured patriotic imagery and cohesion engendered by the First Gulf War, is considered by some to be the best performance ever recorded. Houston's recording charted twice, initially right after its football premiere and then again after 9/11.

- “The Star-Spangled Banner”

Margaret Woodrow Wilson

Columbia Graphophone Co. (A1685), 1918

Clague Collection

Margaret Woodrow Wilson (1886–1944) was the daughter of U.S. President Woodrow Wilson and an accomplished singer. Following her mother's death in 1914, Margaret effectively became the First Lady of the United States. She made several recordings, including this one of “The Star-Spangled Banner.” It was sold by Columbia Records as a benefit for the Red Cross. The record sold for \$1, of which about 25 cents was given to charity. The recording features Wilson as soloist with supporting singers to complete a quartet. Wilson sings verses 1 and 4 of Key's text, and her recording may have been important in popularizing a commonly heard performance practice today: the soprano's leap up a fourth on the word “free.”

- *Jimi Hendrix 30th Anniversary Limited Edition Commemorative Single*

Experience Hendrix/MCA Records, Inc., 1999

“The Star-Spangled Banner” / “Purple Haze”

From *Live at Woodstock*; promotional release for disc jockeys

Although just one of Hendrix’s many performances of the U.S. national anthem, the prominence of the 1969 Woodstock Festival, the subsequent documentary film released in 1970, Hendrix’s death in September of the same year, and the musical quality of this compelling arrangement have made it among the most famous anthem renditions. Hendrix’s “Banner” is, in effect, the sonic emblem of the 1960s in America.

- *Jimi Hendrix Star Spangled Banner*

Souvenir promotional album

Experience Hendrix/Capitol Records, 1994

This rare promotional copy of Hendrix’s “Woodstock Banner,” features eight star-shaped cutouts and was given out to Capitol records employees at July 4th picnic. Only 100 copies made.

- “Dolly Dagger” / “Star Spangled Banner”

Jimi Hendrix

Experience Hendrix/Classic Records, 1971

Souvenir grey-plastic recording from the soundtrack to the movie *Rainbow Bridge*, this multi-track, sonic-fireworks show demonstrates Hendrix’s ongoing artistic fascination with the anthem.

- Assorted pop/rock and classical CDs that illustrate the range of recordings of “The Star-Spangled Banner”

Clague Collection



Audio accompaniment:

*Poets & Patriots: A Tuneful History of "The Star-Spangled Banner"*  
Ann Arbor: Star Spangled Music Foundation, 2014

This U-M recording project by Associate Prof. Mark Clague with Professors Jerry Blackstone, Scott Piper, and James Kibbie, as well as student singers and instrumentalists, celebrates the music history of the U.S. national anthem. Available online or at Encore Records in Ann Arbor.

Thank you for coming to see this exhibition.

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[www.lib.umich.edu/special-collections-library](http://www.lib.umich.edu/special-collections-library)

[www.lib.umich.edu/events](http://www.lib.umich.edu/events)